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The First Eighteen Months of Life

by Sibylle K. Escalona

* * * I shall try only to examine in some detail a few of the aspects of experience during babyhood which are seldom mentioned but which are important for both children and parents.

There are two things about having a baby which I believe to be universal. One of them is that, at least for families living in our Western civilization and at the present time (and probably for most ages), neither the anticipation nor the reality of having a baby is an unmixed blessing. Some uneasiness - apprehension and even fearfulness - and genuine concern necessarily arise in both parents, not only in connection with the first baby, but with each addition to the family. * * *

* * * One source of apprehension I would like to call realistic and to a degree objective. If I see a woman who is about to give birth to a child - or, for that matter, her husband - who is full of nothing but joyous expectation and cheerful confidence every minute of the time, I become a bit suspicious. It is a plain fact that children complicate existence. For the great majority of mankind there is a realistic burden to be faced in terms of finances and comfort and safety. * * * Contrary to the oversimplified statements we occasionally read or hear, there is ample clinical evidence to show that awareness of these real hardships and sacrifice does not in itself indicate rejection or lack of parental love.

On a less concrete but just as real level, the great majority of thoughtful parents are also prey to at least occasional awe and apprehension at bringing a child into the complicated and in many ways painful sort of life we lead. It is possible to worry over-much about H-bombs and the seemingly inevitable violence and indignity that exist in the relationships between people. But one would have to shut one's eyes very tightly indeed to contemplate creating a new life without worrying about the dangers and uncertainties and the pain that are surely ahead.

The other source of what I regard as an inevitable disturbance is more biological, and may vary from causing a mild upset to one that is quite severe. I refer to the fact that, for the woman, pregnancy and delivery are major physiological events involving changes within the body not only in sensations, but in body chemistry as well. At such times of biological instability we have learned to expect that the intensity of the person's reactions will be considerably heightened. * * * As a result of such extra demands on one's available energy, even the lassitude and lack of zest for things which overcome a good many women during some stages of their pregnancy is part of the same picture. As long as these more negative aspects of the experience are proportionate, and there is still plenty of room for joy and for constructive planning as well as for worry and

discomfort, the mere fact that parents have some natural qualms about the coming baby is not a signal that something is wrong with their emotional attitudes. On the contrary, being able to take the good without having to deny the bad is part and parcel of being a mature, responsible person.

The second universal fact about having a baby is that, with the exception of persons quite seriously ill or in desperate circumstances (and often even among such individuals), it is apparently impossible to bring a child into the world without pleasure. I tend to think that this is at least as much a biological phenomenon as a social one. People are so made as to be capable of conceiving, bearing and delivering children and it appears to be a fundamental principle of living matter that doing what you were made for is satisfying and pleasurable.

It is a strange fact that, in our culture at least, there is a fair proportion of people who find it easier to express anxiety or negative feelings openly than to admit that they are looking forward to something or having pleasure. I mention this because it is my experience, and that of a great many people, that if you come to know a woman who at first shocks and grieves you because she seems almost entirely dispirited and negative about having her baby, you almost always find out that she is showing you only a part of what she really feels and thinks.

Actually, it appears that there <u>are no rejecting mothers</u> if that word is intended to mean that both unconsciously and consciously pregnancy and the arrival of the new baby have an exclusively negative meaning for the woman. It is unfortunately true that there are people so harassed by pain and conflict within and without that a great proportion of their behavior and of their conscious feeling reflects pain and resentment. Even such people, I submit, have it in them, so to speak, to give expression to more positive feelings if someone or something intervenes to ease the pressure.

A great deal has been written and said about the fact that what happens during the first weeks, and even days, of life carries a considerable impact upon how the little creature will adapt to life "on the outside." * * *

We tend to think of newborn and young babies as extremely tender, helpless and totally dependent beings. In one sense this is true. But what many people do not realize is that given adequate elementary care, babies are sturdy, tough, young organisms better equipped to adapt and to make their wants known than we usually give them credit for.

Of course, a baby would starve if not fed and freeze if exposed. But under ordinary circumstances he is not likely to starve, because when hungry he will first whimper and then scream, and it is not chance, but one of nature's arrangements, that mothers really cannot bear to hear their babies cry for any length of time without doing something about it. * * * Very careful investigations have shown that even four- and five-day-old babies do almost as well as we do in maintaining a relatively constant body temperature under conditions which change within the normal range. Here we have another example of the fact that babies are not released from the protection of the

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womb until they are biologically quite competent to exist under the ordinary circumstances of human life.

Something very similar is true, in my judgment at least, about these portions of the baby's experience which later become his emotional life and determine to a large extent his relationships with other people. To the best of our knowledge, tiny babies up to about a month old live in a sort of twilight world in which only the sensations or experiences of the moment are real. At this particular time, what went before has no existence at all, and the baby has no capacity to imagine that things will ever be different. For us this state of being is unimaginable. Even when we do not think about it consciously at all, everything we experience is sensed in the context of other kinds of situations and feelings which have gone before, and in the knowledge that nothing endures forever.

The closest I can come to suggesting the baby's reactions is that perhaps they are a little bit like those we might experience out of doors on a day of alternate cloud and sunshine. Now the sun shines hot upon us, and now it goes away leaving us slightly cool; now breezes chill us and all of a sudden we are enveloped in the warmth of sunlight again. The succession of being comfortable and being uncomfortable, being tense and being relaxed, crying and being contentedly quiescent, being left alone and being handled which makes up the baby's life has some of this quality.

The important thing is that once the moment of hunger or other distress is over, it is gone altogether, as far as the baby is concerned. * * * Too often parents of a tiny baby are more worried than is at all necessary if for a while they have trouble feeding the baby, or if he cries from colicky pain, brings up his food with the burp, etc. Such failures in functioning are hard enough to take just because one feels so helpless to make the baby comfortable, without adding a further worry concerning the consequences for his future emotional life.

It is perfectly true that unhappy babyhood only too often precedes some degree of personality disturbance in childhood and in later life. But it does not follow from this well known fact that the intermittent distress in early babyhood necessarily <u>causes</u> the later difficulty. It is more probable that such conditions as the parents' temperament or the family's way of living which caused early disturbances, are also contributing factors where later difficulties occur. True, we rarely hear about children who experienced serious disturbances in early infancy and yet turned out to be fine afterwards. But this may be more because parents tend to forget a condition once it has been corrected than because things never happen that way.

In a study of normal, healthy, well-functioning children with which I am connected, we were enormously impressed with the fact that many children who are developing in an extremely healthy manner at the age of five and six, actually have gone through many of those difficulties generally associated with the "case histories" of emotionally disturbed children. This applies not only to such things as colic or feeding and sleep difficulties in early infancy, but even to later crises over weaning, toilet training and the like.

* * * Everything we know about the development of children and about the history of emotional difficulties shows without a doubt that overly harsh weaning or toilet training or any of the other difficult moments of infancy or early childhood can, and often do, precede maladjustments later on. But now that experts in child development have finally gotten around to studying healthy children with as much care and attention as has been given to emotionally disturbed children, we are learning that it is not necessarily these specific events that are the root of the matter. What they meant at the time to the people concerned and how they are ultimately resolved - or left unresolved - is what really matters.

I have chosen to dwell on this topic because many parents are burdened by a sense of quite terrifying responsibility and feelings of guilt when difficulties develop around some point in the child's emotional growth. Sometimes mothers seem to believe that trouble with colic or weaning or some such thing will cause irreversible damage and that the child will thereafter be in danger of becoming what is known as a problem child forever more.

Although there is a good deal more for us to learn in this area, the information now on hand is sufficient to convince me and many others that things are neither so bad nor so simple as that. What is bad, and serious, is the effect which the extra worry and guilt of well-intentioned, loving parents may have upon the emotional atmosphere within the family. It is this tension which makes it difficult or impossible to maintain the comfortable, relaxed and reasonably confident atmosphere of family living which is the best, and perhaps the only, way of helping the child to live through such minor crises without being scarred. Anxiety, it seems to me, often sets up a vicious circle in which the parents' distrust of their own ability and worth is in subtle ways mixed up with a lack of confidence in the child's powers of growth and adjustment, not infrequently leading to the very evils which were unnecessarily feared to begin with.

I am now going to jump to a consideration of the significance of a much later developmental stage and the problems this stage frequently raises for parents. I am referring to what to me is perhaps the most fascinating transition point between "real" infancy and the later phases of babyhood - a change which starts somewhere around eight or nine months and ends at eighteen months or somewhat later.

By the time the child is eight or nine months old or thereabouts, he knows a good deal about his own body and what he can do with it, he is pretty familiar with his own immediate environment * * *.

A great many of his actions have become purposive. He knows that he wants to get from one corner of the room to the other and is capable of getting there by creeping; he knows he wants to get out of the playpen and when he cries angrily it is not just a blind immediate reaction to a feeling of displeasure, but purposeful screaming to get someone to come and take him out. He knows moods of gaiety and delight, he knows disappointment and anger, he can tell by looking at his mother's face or listening to her voice whether she feels indulgent and playful or whether she means business. Comparatively speaking, life has become very complicated, but also richly varied and exciting.

This is the time when, typically, children begin to take positive pleasure in overcoming obstacles. * * * When he finally achieves his aim, after endless trials, he is apt to look about with a truly radiant expression of triumph and expansive delight.

Delightful as all of this sounds and is, parents very commonly find caring for the youngster during this developmental period exceptionally difficult. The happy idyll of early infancy is replaced by a tumultuous relationship which can produce such irritation and bafflement in the adult as to seriously interfere with a mutually gratifying relationship. It is no longer a simple matter for the adult to know just what the child wants or what is distressing him, or how to divert and console him. * * * This is the period during which, to use the language of Erik Erikson, children are faced with the developmental task of achieving a sense of autonomy - of learning that there is such a thing as the self separated from all the surroundings about * * *.

Having discovered that there is such a thing as the self and that it can be put to use, the next developmental step is to find out the limits of one's strength and powers. The youngster who cries when you lift him to the very place he tried so hard to reach is distressed because what really matters to him is the struggle to do it for himself. In many other ways, a child during this period is often disgruntled if one anticipates his wishes. Though he strains and strains trying to climb up the sofa, when you put him there he tries to get down. He tugs at the icebox door, but when you open it for him he loses all interest. He pushes and pushes at the peg board on wheels or a little stool trying to move it along the floor, but when you adjust it for him or guide it in the direction he means to go, he becomes angry.

Since he wants to find out for himself just what he can and cannot accomplish, the toddler is often a nuisance in any well-ordered home and will persist in doing things which his facial expression shows he knows perfectly well he is not supposed to do. * * *

Just as this age period provides, in healthy children, perhaps the purest and keenest joy in mastery ever experienced, so does it bring bitter disappointment and violent rage. The child is not baby enough to have everything done for him, but enough of a baby still to have relatively little judgment about the actual limits of his strength. * * * One reason parents find it difficult to exert the patience and tact required by the toddler is that his outbursts of anger and grief seem so completely unreasonable. Sometimes he does not even particularly want the thing he is after. It is hard for the adult to see that it is just as bitter a disappointment for this child not to be able to do something with <u>his own</u> strength as it would be for an older one not to get some object that he badly wanted.

When you stop to think about it, the number and kinds of limits that have to be learned are so large it is no wonder that the toddler becomes confused. It is not only his own strength and agility that sets limits, and not only the nature of the physical world about him. At least as important

are the limits which mothers, fathers and everybody else continually set for children and necessarily have to maintain. You have to learn that it is all right to splash the bath water, but not the soup; that balls can be thrown in the yard, but not in the living room; that teddy bear's nose and ears can be pulled at will, but people will object to this treatment; that the very act which earns you high praise on the toilet arouses no enthusiasm when it happens elsewhere; that most of the time it is all right to shout and bang toys, but when there is company or mother takes a nap you are supposed to be quiet, etc. In learning all this, the stormy contests with both animate and inanimate objects which characterize the toddler stage are necessary and desirable * * *.

Another typical behavior change observed during this age period really also has to do with limits, although at first glance it seems that we are dealing with something altogether different. This is the fact that even children who have heretofore not shown unreasonable shyness or fearfulness of strangers frequently develop, at this point, extreme shyness and, beyond the age of one year, often a sort of silly embarrassment when exposed to contact with strangers.

If you think of the typical outward signs that go with shyness and embarrassment you will realize that what they denote is a sudden heightened awareness of the boundaries of the self. Even in adult speech we say that we felt like "sinking into the ground" for embarrassment or shame; blushing actually makes the boundary of the person especially visible; closing the eyes or turning away as children so often do is clearly based on the ostrich policy of "if I don't see you, you don't see me"; and shrinking postures suggest a desire to make oneself as inconspicuous as can be.

Coming face to face with an unfamiliar person does, in fact, for children at about this age (and sometimes for older children and adults as well) bring with it a sudden and unwanted awareness of the self as we imagine others see us from the outside. I mention this fearfulness of strangers not only because it is a reaction which often puzzles parents, who think that someone must have frightened the child without their knowing it, but also because I would like to suggest that the outstanding behavior characteristics of the toddler make sense and form a unified, understandable whole.

Difficulty in understanding this may be dangerous to the developing relationship between the child and other members of the family. Some mothers, noting that the child can no longer be directed or comforted as easily as before, begin to feel his assertion of autonomy as a sort of threat. "After all," parents think, "I am the adult and I ought to be able to control this little paragon of mine. Once he begins to feel that he is boss and that I cannot stop him from doing things or get him to do things according to my will, he will lose confidence in me." Or they may feel that if they let the child do as he wants they will never be able to teach him things and protect him from various dangers.

Faced with such a situation there often develops something like a contest of wills. This not only cheats the parent out of the enormous fun that is

to be had from watching the youngster explore and conquer his world; it also may mean that soon the child begins to feel that adults, instead of being a comfort and a help, are chiefly obstacles and objects of resentment. Worse yet, the moments of triumph of which we have spoken, and which should be pure joy, may then coincide with situations in which it is clear to parent and child alike that the child has won a point and the parent has lost.

Parents, being human, do not like to be worsted, and directly or indirectly show resentment. Children, in the kind of situation of which I speak, can reach the point where they do not dare to act on impulse and try things out, for fear of arousing the parents' anger. * * *

The opposite extreme, also seen quite often among parents, is equally unfortunate. This is when parents misinterpret what we have learned about the effects of too harsh discipline and come to feel that even small children must <u>never</u> be thwarted. * * *

This kind of a "complete freedom" does not make the child self-confident and self-reliant. On the contrary, it tends to make children both fearful and confused. In order to feel self-confident and enterprising it is also necessary to feel reasonably safe. When you are twelve months old, and even when you are two years old and beyond, you cannot feel safe unless you have an absolute conviction that the adults looking after you will not let you come to harm. Even though there may be tears and struggles as the youngster is removed from the dangerous window ledge or as he is made to leave daddy's whisky glass alone, the child senses very well that he is being protected from consequences that would be dangerous or unpleasant. It goes without saying that the child will sense only what is really true about the limits imposed. If over and over again he is prevented from action not because it is harmful but because he must "learn to obey", if he is surrounded by tantalizing objects that must be left alone; or if there are not enough places and things he can experiment with, he will, of course, suffer from a sense of helplessness and frustration.

I hope I have conveyed to you my conviction that by and large children know more about the business of their own growing up than we do, and that in our efforts to support and guide them we can do no better than to try to understand the meaning of their behavior and be guided by what each child's actions tell us about him and his needs of the moment. At the same time, we are continually learning to better understand why children do what they do when they do it. The patient study through which we attempt to discover the meaning of children's behavior would be blind and aimless unless we found some general and theoretical concepts that appear to fit the facts. * * *

. . . From CHILD STUDY, Vol. 32, No. 3, Summer 1955

Trends in the Psychological Appraisal of Children

by Dorothea McCarthy
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* * * There seem to me to have been a number of significant trends or shifts of emphasis which have been discernible during these 25 years. * * *

* * *

Earlier workers in the child guidance clinics of the twenties were concerned primarily with the child as a focus of study and treatment. While the child himself is not neglected or overlooked in more recent work it appears that a relatively small percentage of the problems are due to organic defects, so that increasingly the clinician's attention is being directed away from the organism and toward the environment in which the child lives. This leads him to concern with the people closest to the child who shape that environment psychologically, so that, increasingly, parents are becoming the focus of attention, and are being treated either instead of, or most often, concurrently with, the child. Not only are mother-child relationships being stressed, but we are also seeing an increasing recognition of the importance of the role of the father as shown in the recent studies by Tasch and by Stolz.

Even when the origin of the problem is a physical or mental defect in the child, the treatment now involves some form of individual or group therapy with the parents of the handicapped child in order to help them to accept the child's handicap objectively and without undue guilt feelings. The spontaneous groupings of parents whose children suffer from similar handicaps, such as the League to Help Emotionally Disturbed Children, the National Association for Aid to Retarded Children, and the United Cerebral Palsy Association are interesting examples of how parents are finding strength and courage by banding together to provide for the needs of their handicapped children, and to seek professional help for their common problems.

Along with the increased interest in environmental factors is found increased interest in social class differences, racial differences and cultural factors, especially in the effects of various child caring practices as they are employed in relatively homogeneous groups. Whereas research workers have long used socio-economic status as a check on sampling, because many variables were known or suspected to be related to it, we now find efforts directed toward spelling out what are the dynamic factors in the way of life of various social groups which bring about the results obtained. This is only one illustration of the fact that child psychology seems to be moving away from mere description of how children grow and develop, as in the work of Gesell, toward explanatory phases attempting to get at the "whys" of their behavior.

Davis and Havighurst blazed the trail and questioned many interpretations of test results on the grounds of cultural factors. Studies * * * show

that it is not merely the fact that children belong to one social class or another that makes the differences psychologically, but that membership in such a group increases the likelihood of being treated in certain ways, and of having certain kinds of life experiences which have important bearing on the rate and direction of development in many psychological traits. In other words, the quality of living differs from one social group to another. * * *

With regard to child caring practices, Vincent points out that the practical literature has gone through cycles from one extreme to the other. * * * He indicates that the literature is now less dogmatic than formerly and that it is more likely to suggest alternative procedures. He states, ". . . it is painfully clear that the writers in the field of infant care and child rearing disciplines have been slow to construct a body of data that withstands empirical scrutiny. Instead, they have often reflected changing patterns of thought in middle-class society and reflected changing theories of education and personality formation." He brings out further that if the discipline of infant and child care is to become really scientific, the basic assumptions will need to be made more explicit in order to enable proper testing of hypotheses. The trends seem to have been recently in the direction of increasing recognition of the child as an individual in his own right, or increasing permissiveness, decreasing authoritarian practices and increasing use of democratic methods in dealing with children in homes and schools.

One important factor contributed by child psychologists * * * is their emphasis on the matter of time perspective. Child psychologists are concerned with the developing organism in whom changes occur at different rates in various functions along a continuum. Valuable insights are often realized when events in the development of groups or of individuals are aligned in terms of time and studied for simultaneity and sequence. * * *

Twenty-five years ago much of the literature in child psychology was characterized by small-scale research investigations which attempted to study one factor at a time as a possible cause of another. Examples are the studies attempting to show that change of handedness was causally related to stuttering * * *. Most such studies representing the search for a single cause led into blind alleys and inconclusive results. Accordingly we have witnessed a growing recognition of the complexity of the organism as a whole. * * * The fact that causation is usually complex rather than simple leads necessarily to the multidisciplinary approach to the problems of human behavior. This is well illustrated by the team approach of the child guidance clinic, and also by the major contributions coming more recently from multidisciplinary research teams operating under grants of money from foundations, rather than from isolated doctoral dissertations as in former years.

In the twenties, babies were stimulated in laboratories with flashlights, rattles, bells and telegraph snappers. In the thirties, * * * researches * * * showed the importance of the careful control of the entire stimulating situation as well as the condition of the organism at the time of stimulation. In the forties, important contributions were made concerning

the development of babies in family situations as compared with those raised in institution settings. These steps seem to have led slowly but naturally to the emphasis of many current studies on the observation of the infant and the mother in all the complexities of their personal interaction in actual life situations, as in the work at the Menninger Clinic and more recently at Yale by Murphy and Escalona. Paralleling this work at the infant level are the ecological studies of older children in their natural habitat by Barker and his associates in Kansas.

In the twenties and thirties, clinics and researchers worked intensively with their newly fashioned tools, the intelligence and achievement tests.
* * *

In many instances, mental measurement with standard intelligence tests gives only a minimal estimate of the child's ability rather than an index of capacity. * * * Thus, if we discern yet another trend, it might be described as a decreasing emphasis on the importance of intelligence test results as such, combined with increasing emphasis on techniques of appraising personality and motivational factors.

Now that we have come to recognize the limitations of general tests of intelligence, and have learned from factor analyses of mental test data that there are many different abilities to be measured reliably, rather than only one general ability, the next step will probably be, as Anatasi suggests, the development of differential aptitude batteries as individual tests for children which will be based on empirical findings rather than on subjective guesses, so that profiles of several abilities and aptitudes will replace the former emphasis on single scores such as IQs, and the present dubious practice of analyzing patterns of unreliable subtest scores.

Unfortunately our techniques for studying the motivational and affective aspects of child behavior have lagged behind. They have proven extremely difficult to render objective and quantitative. In the past, most clinical reports were based primarily on objective numerical scores. While we still use these and find them very helpful, the clinician currently devotes considerable additional time to tracing themes in apperception tests, categorizing responses to sentence completion tests or to picture frustration studies, as well as to detailed analysis of the characteristics of children's drawings and to the study of their responses to Rorschach ink-blots and their behavior in play situations. Thus, it seems that we discern some trends away from exclusive emphasis on quantification toward extensive explorations in terms of more qualitative analyses. We are groping for objective and reliable ways of quantifying these important qualitative aspects of child behavior. Until we make major improvements in techniques for measuring such things as emotional immaturity, insecurity, parental rejection or permissiveness, we are unlikely to arrive at answers to many of the urgent problems of child psychology which will satisfy scientific research investigators. Unless we dare to dream, however, and set up tentative hypotheses to be tested, we will not find the answers, for we will not have the motivation or the felt need to forge the necessary tools of research.

* * * there are evidences of increasing willingness on the part of some psychologists to give due recognition to the importance of the moral and religious development of the child. * * * These problems are not readily amenable to research, if indeed they ever will yield fully to objective investigation. But without them, our picture is necessarily incomplete. * * *

During the 25-year span * * *, many of the children who participated in some of the earliest scientific and normative studies have reached adulthood and have themselves become parents. They constitute a most important strand in the ever growing product of scientific knowledge which is being woven, slowly but surely, by a small group of developmental psychologists who have dedicated themselves to major longitudinal studies. I am thinking particularly of the work of Terman * * *. I also think of the work of Bayley at California, of the Harvard Growth Study, as well as of the work of Olson at Michigan and that of Goodenough and Katherine Maurer Cobb at Minnesota. These longitudinal studies provide invaluable checks and balances for our more quickly executed cross-sectional studies. We are witnessing longitudinal studies reaching from the cradle to maturity, and we are also seeing studies of three generations by the same workers like Radke, who studies not only the parents of child subjects but also their grandparents through the retrospective reports of the parents.

Another prominent focus of attention * * * concerns the quality of the family relationships and the dynamics of parent-child interaction so well described by Symonds.

It was Allen of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic who called attention to the fact that most deviant behavior of children requiring clinical services represents some deviation from the normal in the mother-child relationship. The vast majority of children requiring therapy seem to be suffering from being pushed out of the nest too soon by rejecting parents, or to be in need of assistance in the emotional separation from the mother in order that the child may be emancipated from an overprotecting mother and achieve emotional independence. Levy has made outstanding contributions in this area.

Other evidences of the swing away from the purely quantitative measurement of human behavior may be seen in the rather general recognition that the schizophrenic child (a diagnosis which is made much more frequently now than formerly) is somehow qualitatively different from the normal child in his behavior. * * * At a recent symposium Cobb challenged the idea of explaining much neurotic behavior in terms of emotional immaturity, for she claims that the behavior of the neurotic adult is qualitatively quite different from the normal behavior of a younger individual, and she suggested that perhaps the developmental concept of immaturity to account for such deviant behavior has outlived its usefulness.

We have come a long way from the early biographical studies of Darwin * * *. We have lived through an era of objectivity and measurement which bore fruit in the form of limited tools and some fairly adequate norms. Perhaps the present phase is analogous to a period of retooling in industry as we

examine new hypotheses and work with new theoretical constructs in entering upon a second descriptive period, awaiting the perfection of new instruments, which we hope will enable us to quantify our observations of new and more complex variables in a future phase of more adequate explanation leading to enlightened understanding of child behavior.

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 26, No. 3, Sept. 1955

The Role of Member in Clubs of Lower-Class and Middle-Class Adolescents

by Henry S. Maas
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Is the type of role-adaptation adolescents make as members of formally organized groups related to their social class affiliation? Specifically, is the role of member fulfilled in different ways in neighborhood center teenage clubs in the slums and in middle-class areas? In the sizable body of empirical studies on children's group behavior and on social class influences upon adolescent life, one finds few generalizations that bear directly upon this problem.

* * * Membership in formally organized groups and other components in the social participation patterns of middle- and lower-class youth have been studied, but research on role-adaptation within such groups has failed to utilize social class as an independent variable. Instead, when the social class concept has been used, it has been for purposes of experimental control, as for example in Lippitt's first laboratory study on children's groups. * * *

Drawing upon Davis' research on social class theory and adolescent development, one might postulate that lower-class teenage club members express more aggression, engage more frequently in digressions from the central activity of a meeting, and are generally less collaborative as a total group during club meetings than are comparable middle-class club members. Prior research, in Chicago, of which the current study is a continuation, reveals that this simple formulation does not stand up under testing. Rather, the prior research suggests that the roles of member, club president, and adult leader are quite differently perceived by slum area and middle-class neighborhood center adolescents. * * *

* * *

* * * Drawing upon what is known and postulated about lower-class and middle-class adolescent group life, the following hypotheses are proposed on the lower-class, as compared with the middle-class, club member:

Hypothesis 1: In lower-class groups, the member directs to the adult leader (a) more collaboration, (b) more aggression, and (c) more digression. The adult is developmentally "a more significant and conflictful person" for him.

Hypothesis 2: In lower-class groups, the member directs to the president (a) less collaboration, (b) less aggression, and (c) less digression. * * *

Hypothesis 3: In lower-class groups, the member directs to other members (a) less collaboration, (b) more aggression, and (c) more digression. This follows from the characteristically more overt expression of aggression and lesser degree of impulse control found among lower-class youth today.

Each of these hypotheses is the converse of a hypothesis on the role of member in middle-class adolescent clubs.

Methods

To test the hypotheses, ten clubs averaging a total attendance of 126 adolescent members were selected and paired in the San Francisco Bay Area. An observational instrument was developed and used in three successive mid-year meetings in each club.

For the selection of clubs, criteria which provide control of factors theoretically related to members' role-adaptation were set up, members' social class status being the independent variable. The criteria that could be met in the field are as follows: (a) all clubs have scheduled weekly meetings in a neighborhood center attracting primarily either slum area or middle-class adolescents; (b) all clubs have an agency-designated adult leader regularly in attendance; (c) all club meetings are presided over by an adolescent in the role of president; (d) all club meetings include a forum-type discussion for the members' planning of their own programs, thus excluding from this study all groups with highly ritualized procedures and agency-imposed programs as in some Scout troops; (e) all clubs are organized and meeting for a minimum of four months by the time that research observations begin, thus excluding from this study all very newly organized clubs still in the process of initial group formation and role-definition; and (f_1) all clubs are composed of either boys or girls, ages 12 to 16, with a median attendance of not fewer than 6 and not more than about 20 members, but (f_2) all clubs paired for co-observation are to be of the same sex, not more than about a year apart in median age of members, not too disparate in numbers attending, and each composed predominantly of lower-class or middle-class adolescents. * * *

* * *

Findings and conclusions

The role of member is differently fulfilled and apparently differently perceived by the lower- and the middle-class adolescents * * *.

Hypothesis 1: The lower-class adolescent club member directs more collaborative interactions to the adult leader than does the middle-class member. The data do not support parts (b) and (c) of this hypothesis in regard to more aggression and digression directed to the adult leader in slum area groups. * * *

Hypothesis 2: The middle-class adolescent club member directs more collaborative and more aggressive interactions to the president. The data do not support part (c) of this hypothesis on digressive interactions. The president, in turn, is more collaborative and aggressive with members in middle-class than in lower-class groups.

Hypothesis 3: The lower-class adolescent club member is more aggressive with other members. The data do not support part (a) of this hypothesis on less collaboration among lower-class adolescents. * * *

The data validate only parts of the initial proposition. The over-all pattern of quantitative findings is largely, however, in the expected directions. The initial formulation may thus be refined in the following ways:

1. The role of member among lower-class adolescents in neighborhood center clubs is fulfilled in a relationship to the adult leader that is comparable to the relationship the middle-class adolescent member has with his peer in the role of club president. In slum area clubs, the adult leader would seem to be a more significant figure to members than in middle-class neighborhood centers where adolescent members ostensibly have less need for interaction with the adult.

2. The role of member among middle-class adolescents apparently sanctions less aggression and digression in member-to-member interactions than does the comparable role among lower-class adolescents. This much squares with existing social class theory. It should be noted, however, that the total amount of aggression expressed by members in the two types of group is not significantly different, since the club president in the middle-class groups is the target (and initiator) of significantly more aggressive interactions than is his counterpart in the lower-class groups. One must conclude, therefore, that the role of member among both lower- and middle-class adolescents offers equal opportunity but different directional outlets for the expression of aggression in teenage clubs.

3. Differences found between lower-class and middle-class adolescents in the role of member and its relationships with the reciprocal roles of adult leader and club president may be explained in terms of differential cultural training and experience relevant to role-adaptation in formally organized groups. * * *

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 25, No. 4, Dec. 1954

Hare, A. Paul. "Small group discussions with participatory and supervisory leadership." J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1953, 48, 273-275. When 13-year-old boys were used as Ss in an experiment which compared the effects of supervisory and participatory leadership on group judgment in discussion groups of 5 members, the results generally substantiated the findings of a similar experiment using college-age Ss. The data indicated that participatory leadership was more effective than supervisory leadership as a technique for changing opinion. In addition, the participatory leader generally had more influence on the group, a result not obtained with college Ss. Although participatory Ss were generally better satisfied with the results of the group decision than were the supervisory Ss, the differences were not statistically significant. Author's Summary.

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr., 1954

Harris, D. B., Clark, K. E., Rose, A. M., & Valasek, Frances. "The measurement of responsibility in children." Child Develpm., 1954, 25, 21-28. This is a report of study based on 3000 children aged 8 to 18 in rural, town, and urban settings. Havighurst's scale for responsibility, a Thurstone-type list of characterizations falling along a continuum, was completed by teachers of these children. The children themselves completed a schedule of items reflecting social attitudes discriminating between children with reputations (with their peers) for high degree of "willingness to accept the consequences of one's own behavior, dependability, trustworthiness, sense of obligation to the group and to one's own values." Statistics of central tendency and variability are presented by age, sex, and size of home community. Hypotheses relating to the presence of a unitary trait of responsibility, which shows a marked improvement in age and is more likely to appear in rural than in urban children, were not supported. A hypothesized sex difference, favoring girls, was supported for both criterion measures. Some limited speculations on further hypotheses are offered. (Authors' Abstract)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIO., Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Harris, D. B., Clark, K. E., Rose, A. M., & Valasek, Frances. "The relationship of children's home duties to an attitude of responsibility." Child Develpm., 1954, 25, 29-33. "Responsibility" was evaluated by teachers on a Thurstone-type scale for each of more than 3000 rural, town, and urban children. These same children completed an attitudes scale validated to discriminate children with reputations with peers for dependable, responsible behavior. They also completed an extensive schedule on home chores and duties. The obtained relationships failed to support the hypothesis that the number and/or kind of home chores is associated with evidences of sense of responsibility in either of the criteria measures used. (Authors' Abstract)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIO., Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Mott, Sina M. "Concept of mother: A study of four- and five-year-old children." Child Develpm., 1954, 25, 99-106. A study of the development of the concept of "mother" was made using the oral responses and 234 drawings of "mother" of 18 4-year-olds and 18 5-year-olds at University school. From their oral expressions and from their drawings, mother is that very active person who keeps the home running - cooking, cleaning and washing dishes. Mother is also one who cares for them and comes to their aid in times of stress. The drawings portray a wider range of activities of a recreational nature and of home life. The physical appearance of mother is not as clear or definite in the oral expressions as it is in the drawings. There they will draw the hair either straight or curly on 3 sides of the head. Most 4-year-olds use the same color as they do for the rest of the figure, the 5-year-olds go to the trouble of selecting another color usually black or brown. As to clothes few mention them in the free expression

in their drawings, the 4-year-olds do not distinguish between mother or father but the 5-year-olds will give their mothers a triangular skirt and their fathers pants. Mother's size is relative, taller than themselves but shorter than father. Time is not associated with mother by this age; she is either just a little older than themselves or they "don't know." The word "mother" is beginning to take on a universal connotation. It has 2 synonyms: "mamma" and "mommy" but they are not as popular as the word "mother." The 5-year-olds start using "my" to distinguish their mother from those of the other children. Many of the 5-year-olds have come to realize that "my" mother is "Mrs. ----," and that she has a first name which people outside the family call her. When 4- and 5-year-olds select colors for drawing mother alone they select red-blue and purple; but when she is one of the family she is either red or yellow. Mother is placed most often in the center of the family with the 4- and 5-year old child next to her. (Author's Abstract)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIO., Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Norton, Joseph I. "Patterns of vocational interest development and actual job choice." J. genet. Psychol., 1953, 82, 235-262. The author's thesis is that little work has been done on the developmental aspects of vocational interests and patterns of early work careers. To fill this gap, he selected 2 occupational groups, teachers and factory workers, for study. Using an interview schedule containing open-ended questions, responses were obtained from 75 female teachers, 75 male teachers, and 43 factory workers. Three-way statistical comparisons were made. The following pattern of development of interests emerged: "first interests developed at a wide range of ages (3 to 27), with the professional subjects centering around age 9 to 10, the factory workers around age 13. New interests continued to start throughout the age range covered by the study. The peak was at age 15 to 16, but there was pointed evidence for an upswing in the late 20s and early 30s." Male teachers had the largest number of different interests but held them for shorter periods and indicated a waxing and waning of common boyhood interests. Factory workers had significantly fewer interests than the professional group. Current vocational goals did not reflect earlier interests nor did 1st job bear any relation to ultimate field of employment. Male teachers had more part-time jobs whereas factory workers changed full-time jobs more frequently. While male teachers started working earlier, factory workers were younger when starting full-time work. Female teachers had fewest different kinds of jobs, 55% having had only one type, i.e., teaching, and the highest average time for staying on full-time work. Subjects in all 3 groups had, at one time or another, considered a field other than the one in which they were now engaged, as their ultimate field of endeavor. (R. J. Tasch)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Schoeppe, Aileen, Haggard, Ernest A., & Havighurst, Robert J. "Some factors affecting sixteen-year-olds' success in five developmental tasks." J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1953, 48, 42-52. This study suggests some variables germane to adolescent socialization in a midwestern American community. It does this by statistically treating rich interdisciplinary case data on 15 16-year-old boys and 15 16-year-old girls to isolate personality factors and social roles that are significant for the sex groups for the accomplishment of 5 developmental tasks. In addition, 6 uniquely achieving cases are intensively studied to show the dynamics of a concrete situation and its importance. . . . The findings stress the greater importance of emotionality and its expression in outlets satisfying to the individual and acceptable to society. If the adolescent is to accomplish successfully the developmental tasks required in his society, it is imperative that he master his impulsivity and accept himself, so that he can mobilize his energy to deal effectively with the social and cultural forces which impinge upon him. From Authors' Summary.

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Vernon, Magdalen D. "The value of pictorial illustration." Brit. J. Educ. Psychol., 1953, 23, 180-187. Two series of experiments were carried out on boys and girls between 15 and 19 years of age, to investigate the effects of accompanying pictorial illustrations upon the remembering of verbal texts. It was found that older boys and girls were sometimes helped by pictures to remember the particular facts demonstrated by the pictures; but that, taking the verbal material as a whole, an illustrated version was remembered no better than an un-illustrated one, or than one accompanied by graphs. In several cases, the pictures produced a considerable emotional impact such as might affect the attitudes of the subjects to the social problems described . . . but it could not be concluded that these attitudes would lead to reasonable suggestions for courses of action. These accepted the more striking facts presented in an uncritical manner, and ignored explanations and statements about the causes of these phenomena. From Author's Summary.

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Zeligs, Rose. "Children's concepts and stereotypes of Turk, Portuguese, Roumanian, Arab, Chinese, French-Canadian, Mulatto, South American, Hawaiian, and Australian." J. genet. Psychol., 1953, 83, 171-178. The purpose of this study was to determine and compare children's concepts and stereotypes of various national groups. The subjects were 12-year-old children - 200 in 1931 and 274 in 1944 - to whom the Zeligs' Intergroup Attitude Test was administered. In general, "little change" was found when the 2 periods were compared. For the 3 new groups added in 1944 (South American, Hawaiian, and Australian), "the children . . . expressed a high percentage of favorable concepts. . . The data suggest that not knowing much about certain races or nationalities is accompanied by few favorable concepts of them." (R. J. Tasch)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Clarke, S. C. T. "The effect of teachers' adjustment on teachers' attitudes." Canad. J. Psychol., 1953, 7, 49-59. This study is designed to investigate the relationship between the teacher's own adjustment and her attitude toward student behavior problems. "The procedure adopted was to measure the attitudes toward student behavior problems of a group of 120 Alberta teachers, to measure the adjustment of the same group, and then to compare the attitudes toward student behavior problems of the best adjusted one-quarter of the group with the poorest adjusted one-quarter." The Wickman schedule of behavior problems was used as the index of the teachers' attitudes toward behavior problems. The Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank was used to determine the teachers' adjustment. The maladjusted teachers among the group of Alberta teachers have attitudes which are closer to the mental hygiene point of view regarding student behavior problems than do well-adjusted teachers. Discussion is also presented which compares the responses of these teachers to the responses of the clinical psychologists involved in standardizing the original Wickman Scale. (I. E. Sigel)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Duvall, Evelyn Millis. "Community codes by common consent." Natl. Parent-Teacher, 1954, 49 (4), 8-10. Brief descriptions are made of the way in which several communities across the country have worked out, by common consent between youth and adults, codes of behavior that clearly state what parents expect of youth, and what youth expect of parents. The codes are not given but the steps by which they came into being are described. (H. C. Dawe)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Lasko, Joan Kalhorn. "Parent behavior toward first and second children." Genet. Psychol. Monogr., 1954, 49, 97-137. The study compared mothers' behavior toward their 1st and 2nd children when the siblings were the same chronological age. Forty-six pairs of children, whose mothers had been rated on the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales, were the subjects. The fact that routine home visits had been made over a number of years permitted the matching of ratings of the mother's behavior to her 2 children when they were the same chronological age. The major findings were as follows: "(1) Parent behavior toward 1st children as contrasted to 2nd is on the average less warm emotionally and more restrictive and coercive. These differences are more apparent in the pre-school years than later. A similar differential exists between 2nd and 3rd children, though on a less distinct level. (2) Parent behavior toward 2nd children does not tend to change systematically as the child grows older. Systematic changes do occur in the treatment of 1st children, mainly in the direction of reduced parent-child interaction. (3) Parents tend child-rearing as revealed by the correlations between the treatment of 1st and 2nd children. However, the nature of the emotional relationship between parent and child is less predictable from 1 sibling to another. (4) the age difference between the

siblings is an important contributor to the variation in parent behavior toward the 2 children. It appears that closely spaced children are, in certain respects, more advantageously treated than are widely spaced children. However, comparisons of children displaced when they were 3 and those displaced when 4 indicated that the former suffered greater loss of warmth and attentiveness from the mother." (A. L. Baldwin)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Maccoby, Eleanor E., Gibbs, Patricia K., & Staff. "Methods of child-rearing in two social classes." In W. E. Martin & C. B. Stendler (Eds.), Readings in Child Development. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954. 380-396. Interviews were conducted with 198 upper-middle class, and 174 upper-lower class mothers of kindergarten children. They were asked about their methods of bringing up their children: Feeding, toilet training, sex training, and aggression training were discussed, as were the techniques of discipline the mother employed, the number and identity of the people involved in the child's early training, and the kinds of achievements the mother expected of the child and the nature of the restrictions imposed upon him. . . taken together, the findings imply that the upper-middle class are more "permissive" than the upper-lower class in child-rearing. Both classes bring pressure to bear on the child to give up the direct expression of some of his "natural" impulses and to substitute more mature behavior for infantile behavior, but the upper-middle group appear to be more tolerant of infantile behavior and to employ less severe punishment in the process of training. (From Authors' Summary and Conclusions.)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Podolsky, Edward. "The father's occupation and the child's emotions." Understanding the Child, 1954, 23, 22-24. A psychiatrist discusses the child's evaluation of his father's occupation. He offers suggestions for fulfilling emotional needs and overcoming conflicts in the child who is sensitive about his father's occupation. (E. A. Davis)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY, Vol. 28,
Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Staples, Ruth, & Smith, June Warden. "Attitudes of grandmothers and mothers toward child rearing practices." Child Develpm., 1954, 25, 91-97. This study was designed to test the hypothesis that attitudes of grandmothers and mothers of the present generation of children differ in respect to child rearing practices, and that grandmothers are more strict and authoritative than mothers. By means of an attitude scale and personal interview, 87 grandmother-mother pairs who lived in the same urban community were studied with respect to their ideas concerning child rearing. The grandmothers proved to be more strict than the mothers, this difference being evident in all of the areas of child care included in the scale. When the

grandmothers lived in their own homes both the grandmother and the mother were more permissive than the pairs who lived in the same household. The attitudes of maternal grandmothers and their daughters were significantly correlated when the 2 resided apart, but no relationship was demonstrated for those who lived together or for paternal grandmothers and their daughters-in-law. The degree of permissiveness of both generations bears a positive relationship to the number of years of formal education. (Author's Abstract)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY, Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

Tasch, Ruth J. "The role of the father in the family." J. exp. Educ., 1952, 20, 319-361. This was an exploratory study of the role of the urban American father. Eighty-five fathers, having a total of 160 children, 80 boys and 80 girls, were interviewed. The children varied in age from birth through 17 years. Interview method data were categorized in areas of activities and concepts. The fathers showed, on the conceptual level, some measure of recognition of the several functions which are implicit in their reported activities. The fathers' role was an active one in which they participated in daily care and considered it a part of their role. Companionship was highly valued yet difficult in lieu of being an "Economic Provider." Few of the fathers recognized the function of masculinity for his child. (R. J. Dales)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY, Vol. 28, Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. & Apr. 1954

Bossard, James H. S. Parent and Child. Philadelphia: Univer. of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. 308 p. $5.00. The study of the parent-child relationship has attained considerable importance as educators, psychiatrists and psychologists, and indeed our culture generally, have made personality a concept of major significance. A sociologist here gives a valuable contribution to this field, drawing attention to many common features of family living which have significance for the child's learning, but which are frequently overlooked by the psychologist or educator. The issues, presented with warmth and insight, and always with reference to the need for more complete and systematic study, include: Family traditions and role, patterns of kinship relations, small and large family systems, the living space available in relation to the number of interaction combinations of family members, the effect on child development of a sequence of parents, inter-class marriage, the "overage" parent, the social and economic status of parental occupation, family pets, rituals, and visiting practices. Students of child development with a primarily psychological background can profit particularly from the views presented. (D. B. Harris)

Hayes, E. Nelson. (Ed.) Directory for Exceptional Children. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1954. 96 p. $1.10. The 1st of a projected series of editions, this booklet contains listings of schools, services, and other facilities for children who are mentally deficient, educationally retarded, emotionally disturbed, or physically handicapped. The 1st section of the directory lists more than 390 private schools and other facilities in geographic order. Most of the listings include information concerning admission policies and costs. This is followed by a classified breakdown of these facilities, e.g. schools for the educationally retarded, schools for the deaf, etc. The 2nd section of the guide includes the names and addresses of more than 300 psychiatric and guidance clinics for children, listed in geographical order. The 3rd section is devoted to services offered by the state and federal governments, listing both the names of the appropriate officials and the addresses of state operated schools for handicapped and delinquent children. The final section of the booklet contains a listing of national associations and periodicals "directly or indirectly concerned with the welfare of exceptional children." Without claiming to be all-inclusive, this directory meets a definite need in its area and should be of use to all who have occasion to refer parents to special schools or guidance clinics. (A. O. Ross)

. . . From CHILD DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY, Vol. 28, Oct. & Dec. 1954, Nos. 5 & 6

FILMS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT & PARENT EDUCATION

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is in the process of preparing Supplement No. 2 of its series of Motion Pictures on Child Life. Many of you doubtless already have the original list issued in 1952 and Supplement No. 1 issued in 1954. If you do not have these, and if you would like to receive them and be placed on the mailing list for a free copy of the new one when issued, write to:

Miss Inez D. Lohr
Visual Information Specialist
Division of Reports
Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

In each film listing there is an annotation with enough detail about the subject matter so that you may tell which ones you wish to preview. This information includes a brief description of the film's content, the suggested audience; length; whether sound or silent, black or color; when produced; how obtained (rented, bought, or borrowed); and the name of producer and distributor. Names and addresses of distributors are also given. The films included in the supplements have been reviewed by the professional staff of the Children's Bureau and have been found to be of value to people and organizations in some field concerned with children.

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A partially annotated 4-page list of references on "Role Playing, or Dramatization in Training Methods" was issued by the Cleveland, Ohio, Public Library in February 1955, as No. 1, Vol. 26, Bulletin of the Business Information Bureau. The introductory statement of the bulletin is worth quoting:

> "The central idea of role playing lies in the assignment of roles to various members of the group who act out the problem situation in human relations, usually without a script. The role playing scene is followed by group discussion and possibly the scene is re-played with variations of personnel or circumstances. The purpose of role playing is to provide a concrete and immediate portrayal of the intricacies of inter-personal relations and thus to provide a closer-to-reality base for personal understandings and insights and for group discussion and training. To the extent to which the trainee is able to identify himself with the role playing participants, he is better able to appraise his own actions toward others and their reactions to him.
>
> "References in this bulletin deal with role playing as a relatively recent medium in behavior training for manpower management, and are listed under these main headings (with subdivision): Role Playing as a Training Technique; Application of Role Playing, Psychodrama and Sociodrama Therapy. Included are books, periodical articles, films, and special studies.

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